Fulbright's 8-Point Peace Plan, P. 2

Again Goldwater Blurts Out The Policy Johnson Would Rather Hide

"You've got to forget about all this civilian stuff." —*Goldwater to an Air Force Assoc. luncheon Jan. 23.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 4 JANUARY 30, 1967 101 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

The Essence of What Is Happening in China

We do not claim to understand what is happening in China, nor to know which faction in its titanic struggle is right. But looked at within its own Marxist frame of reference, certain aspects are striking. Mao seems to have reversed Marx as Marx reversed Hegel. For Hegel the dialectic of history was the unfolding of an immanent Idea. Marx turned Hegel upside down and found the ultimate cause in material circumstance. As Engels said in his essay on Feuerbach, Hegel asserted "the primacy of spirit to nature" while Marx "regarded nature as primary.". The very metaphors of Maoism are a return to idealism. Thus the basic impact of "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" as explained in the document which launched it officially, the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party last August 8, is that it "touches people to their very souls." This is the language of theology; it is mystical and evangelical. It is a kind of Marxist Methodism. Its aim, as the Central Committee then said, "is to revolutionize people's ideology" and "as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work."

Where Mao Contradicts Marx

This gives ideology primacy over material circumstance. It is in contradiction to Marx. "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence," Marx wrote in his *Critique of Political Economy,* "but on the contrary it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." The Maoists are aware of this contradiction. One of the documents being sent out by Peking is a People's Daily editorial of June 2, 1966. In it Mao is quoted as saying—

> **. . . while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material-things. . . .**

In emphasizing "the reaction of mental on material things," Mao is returning to the primacy of the Idea.

In this new Marxist system it is not strange that the main enemy is "economism." The "reactionaries" are accused of offering the peasants more economic incentives and the workers—horror of horrors!—higher wages. It is no accident that the main reliance of Mao is on students and intellectuals—on those who can be moved by ideas and ideals as against the peasants and workers who want a higher return for their labor. Marx wanted to utilize economic motivations to transform society. Mao wants to eliminate them *in order to transform man himself.* This is the tremendous dream of his old age. It is in keeping with this that the main Maoist "Gospels" read like early Christian homilies. The oldest, "In Memory of Norman Bethune" urges Mao's followers to learn "the spirit of absolute selflessness" from this Canadian surgeon who served the Loyalists in Spain and then the Communist guerrillas in China. The latest, "The Foolish Old Man", says again that faith can move mountains. Mao's belief is that if he could mobilize China's industrious and gifted people to work together for more than self, under the impulse of revolutionary fervor, they could make a Great Leap Forward and eradicate backwardness overnight.

The Need For Drama

To stimulate this fervor, Mao has made another break with Marxism. Hegel, a truckler to the powers-that-be, saw the Prussian State as the final product of the Dialectic, its ultimate resolution and perfect embodiment. The Marxists saw the fulfilment of the dialectic in the Communist State, which would be classless, without exploitation of man by man, and therefore in no need of coercion by police or soldiers; the State itself would thus "wither away." There would be no more "contradictions." But Mao, in the words of that same *Peking Daily* editorial, affirms that even in socialist society "there will still be contradictions after 1,000 or 10,000 or even 100 million years." It says struggle alone "can constantly propel our socialist cause forward." The psychological truth hidden here is that only an enemy, something to hate as well as something to love, can energize the younger generation and the people to greater effort. Hence they must be supplied with "monsters" to slay. This epic conflict is to provide greater satisfaction than any mere material reward. For man cannot live by bread alone; he needs drama.

To miss all this is to miss the essence of what is happening, and its appeal to the best youth of China. It is that same call to struggle and sacrifice that has recruited the first followers of all great religions and revolutions. To his exasperated opponents, trying to keep a huge country together with baling wire, Mao's call for supermen must seem, like Nietzsche's, genius streaked with lunacy. It will probably prove as impracticable as the Sermon on the Mount. If Mao fails, as all his great predecessors have failed, it is because man, still half-monkey, cannot live at so high a pitch, and when the bugles die down prefers a quiet scratch in the warm sun.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Key Senator Offers A Program to Which All Men of Good Will Can Rally

A Majority for Peace Could Be Mobilized Behind Fulbright's 8 Points

We respectfully suggest that peace groups in this country form a joint committee to support the 8-point program for a settlement in Vietnam put forward by Senator Fulbright in his new book, *The Arrogance of Power* (Random House: $4.95). We do not ordinarily review books in these pages and we have had time only to read Chapter 9, "Toward Peace in Asia." But we believe its good sense, its moderation and its humanity provide a common platform to which all men of good will can rally. To have this program set forth by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is a political asset. This is a moment which should be seized upon.

That "Other War" Delusion

Senator Fulbright, before outlining his eight points, seeks to dispose of the illusions about the "other war" as an alternative by which we can win "the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people. "The level of violence has become so high," he writes, "as to negate the concept of 'counter-insurgency', which purports to win the war by combining limited military activity with social, economic and political reform." The level of violence reached in 1966, Fulbright says, "reduces social and economic measures to irrelevance."

Fulbright's first point is of especial urgency now when the Constituent Assembly is still at work. He wants the U.S. to suggest that the Saigon government open negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Cowed though it is by the military, the Constituent Assembly seems to be thinking along similar lines; it wants to give the new National Assembly "broader legislative powers than is usual in a strong executive government" so that it could "decide on the holding of peace talks." (*Baltimore Sun* Jan. 20.)

One way to help this trend is to support the Assembly against the military junta and to insist on a full investigation into the murder of its foremost leader, Tran Van Van. His widow in a letter asking clemency for the alleged slayer scathingly pointed out, "the Viet Cong would have been foolish to select a pock-marked and half-blind man as the murderer to provide easy identification by the police." (AP in *Washington Star*, Jan. 20). She said her husband feared he would be murdered for opposing the military veto over the drafting of a new Constitution.

Such an investigation would be a means to cut our puppet military down to size, and thus remove the main Vietnamese stumbling block to peace.

Fulbright's other points are (2) cease-fire negotiations between the U.S. and Saigon on the one side and Hanoi and the NLF on the other, (3) an end of the bombing of the North and a reduction of fighting in the South "consistent with the security of American forces" while peace initiatives are underway, (4) a pledge eventually to remove U.S. forces from Vietnam, (5) negotiation among the four belligerent parties to aim at a cease-fire and self-determination in the South, (6) an international conference including China to guarantee the results and a future referendum on reunification of North and South, (7) neutralization of South Vietnam and if possible all Southeast Asia and (8) if agreement cannot be reached, consolidate U.S. forces "in highly fortified defensive areas in South Vietnam and keep them there indefinitely," as an inducement to negotiate. We are not sure about the last point, since it might also be an inducement to the military on our side *not* to negotiate. But we think this represents a program on which something like majority opinion might be coalesced for peace.

Bobby Still Evasive on Vietnam

Dear IFS: I don't think you should be too harsh on RFK; he may not be ideal but we've got nothing better.

—Letter from Reader.

Jefferson once questioned whether a legislature "which said nothing and did much" was not preferable to "one which talks much and does nothing." I think the 90th Congress will be doing a great deal of both in 1967. Talking about how we can meet our defense needs in Vietnam. Talking about how we can also make our cities livable. . . . Our most urgent question perhaps is whether we must raise taxes to ensure enough resources for the war in Vietnam and for a progressive program at home.

—Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's latest newsletter.

"Reducing crime involves far more than reform of law enforcement. . . . We [must] vastly multiply our efforts against poverty, for education, for jobs, for fundamental justice. . . . But the new order will not be with us for some time, and the longer the war in Vietnam persists, the longer that time will be. So immediate improvements in our law enforcement system are important."

—RFK at Columbia Law School Forum Jan. 19.

The Overdeveloping Girl Industry In Underdeveloped Asia

Singapore—Whatever its political and military consequences, the American military buildup in South Vietnam last year spelled opportunity for alert Asian business men . . . the designation of cities from Penang, Malaysia, to Taipei, Taiwan, as "rest and recuperation" centers for American troops on leave from Vietnam turned hotels, bars and 'massage parlors' into especially lucratice investments."

—"War Turning Vietnam Into Major Market" in Asia-Far East Business Review, N. Y .Times *Jan. 20.*

Even as he urged new foreign investment, Finance minister Pote Sarasin noted that, so far, most Thai capital had been put into quick-return projects—notably hotels and massage parlors. . . .

—From Bangkok, same N.Y. Times *survey.*

Q. What do you mean mistakes?

A. Well, take Thailand. . . . Thee hotels in Bangkok are furnished with girls just for the entertainment of GI's, and now girls are being brought in from the provinces to meet the growing demand. It's only natural that Thai families, and especially the men, get resentful.

—Interview with Rene Dabernat of Paris-Match *on his trip to Asia in* U.S. News & World Report *Jan. 23.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Rare Moscow Demonstration and A Cheering Supreme Court Reversal

One Man's Sedition May Be Another Man's Loyal Good Sense

The day before the Supreme Court last Monday handed down its decision on the New York State anti-subversive laws there was an unusual event in Moscow. Fifty young Russians unfurled hand-painted banners near Pushkin's monument and held a demonstration. They demanded the repeal of Article 70 of the Russian Federal Criminal Code as "unconstitutional." This is the law which provides up to 10 years in jail for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and was used to send the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel to prison.

We link this with the Supreme Court decision because they have a common background—the use of alarming but vague phrases in the law to cover the persecution of non-conformist opinion. Under Stalin, an ill-defined law against "counter revolutionary" crime was used to put suspected critics in labor camps; the equally vague law about "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" is being used today against writers who do not toe the party line. The Supreme Court in its decision was striking at a similar evil in our own country.

That Hobgoblin Word "Subversion"

Here the target of the majority were laws designed to keep "subversives" out of State employment, to punish teachers or other State employes for "any treasonable or seditious word or words" or for advocating "criminal anarchy." The Court struck them down as unconstitutional for a vagueness dangerous to fundamental liberty. This is what the Russian youth also meant by "unconstitutional."

One of the New York State laws struck down goes back to the anti-radical hysteria in World War I. The others are the products of the anti-Red hysteria during the late 40s and during the Korean war. Some of the "loyalty oath" regulations involved have already been rescinded in New York but this decision will invalidate the use of similar devices in other States. The cases arose when four college teachers and a librarian refused on principle to sign certificates under oath that they had never taught revolutionary doctrine or belonged to any party which did. These oaths were part of a program for keeping teachers under surveillance.

Just 15 years ago the Supreme Court in the Adler case upheld this system of regulation 6-3 under the so-called Feinberg law. Black, Douglas and Frankfurter dissented. Last Monday Black and Douglas were in a new majority of five which reversed that old decision. Clark, the last survivor of the six who then upheld it, wrote the minority dissent, with Harlan, Stewart and White. The Adler decision reflected the McCarthyite climate of that time and upheld the right to protect schools from the bogey of "infiltration".

Mr. Justice Clark based his dissent on the government's right to "self-preservation." This is close kin to the argument used by Soviet jurists like Vishinsky for their repressive legislation against "counter-revolutionaries." Mr. Justice Brennan for the majority spoke more wisely when he said "Our experience under the Sedition Act of 1798 taught us that dangers fatal to First Amendment freedoms inhere in the word 'seditious'. And the word 'treasonable' if left undefined is no less dangerously uncertain."

In a joint dissent 12 years ago Justices Douglas and Black said the New York law "inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. . . . Ears are cocked for tell-tale signs of disloyalty. . . . Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? . . . What was behind the praise of Soviet metallurgy in the chemistry class? . . . What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. . . . Fear stalks the classroom. . . . A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry."

Soviet readers who come across that quotation will be startled by its aptness to their own lives. A State which sets out to "preserve itself" by forbidding thoughts it considers dangerous ends by casting a pall over all free discussion. This is universal experience in every form of society.

Painful Story

Kalman J. Berenyi was a Hungarian who fought against the Russians in 1956 and then fled. He finished his medical education here and became an instructor at Tufts Medical School. He was denied naturalization on the ground that he made a false statement when he said he had never belonged to the Communist Party. Dr. Berenyi denied past membership and brought forward witnesses to prove he had been an oppositionist. But the adverse naturalization decision was based on two witnesses, both former Hungarians, one a former Communist. A dissenting opinion by Douglas with Warren and Brennan described one witness as speculative and the other as hazy. But the Supreme Court majority last Monday upheld denaturalization on the ground that when an alien applies for citizenship the burden of proof is on him. He is in effect considered "guilty" until he can prove himself "innocent". This is characteristic of our Immigration and Naturalization Service which regards every alien as suspect. It would have barred Lafayette and Kosciusko had it been set up in time.

From Mr. Justice Douglas's Burning Protest Against Injustice to Indigent Tenants

"The Georgia summary eviction statute provides that a landlord may oust a tenant in a very swift, expedient manner. . . . But in order to remain in possession the tenant must 'tender a bond' . . . [or be] summarily evicted. The effect is that the indigent tenant is deprived of his shelter, and the life of his family is disrupted—all without a hearing—solely because of poverty. . . . The effect of the security statute is to grant an affluent tenant a hearing and to deny an indigent tenant a hearing. . . . We have recognized that the promise of equal justice for all would be an empty phrase for the poor, if the ability to obtain judicial relief were made to turn on the length of a person's purse. It is true that these cases have dealt with criminal proceedings. But the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment is not limited to criminal proceedings. . . . The problem of housing for the poor is one of the most acute facing the nation. . . . Default judgments in eviction proceedings are obtained in machine-gun rapidity."

—Mr. Justice Douglas with Warren and Brennan protesting the refusal of a hearing in a Georgia eviction case.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Green Berets and Bacteria: CB Warfare Expanded Under JFK for Counter Insurgency

Science Magazine Warning: Pax Americana May Become *Pox* Americana

We hope peace groups will circulate the two articles on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare by Elinor Langer in the Jan. 13 and 20 issues of *Science*, organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. This is the most authoritative survey yet published of the new horrors being cooked up in our laboratories. It raises urgent questions in two quarters. One is among scientists: the time has come for those with conscience to face up to their moral responsibilities and refuse to take part in the development of new means of warfare. Those who do not do so must recognize that they are accessories in mass murder. This is especially true for medical men in the CBW field. For as Miss Langer wrote, "Much of the work inescapably has a special character, an inverted quality, like that of medicine turned inside out." One of the efforts in the laboratories the military has subsidized, Miss Langer reveals, is "to breed into pathogenic organisms precisely the characteristics—such a resistance to antibiotics—that medical researches would like to see eradicated." Objectively considered, such medical work should be regarded as criminally insane.

A Cheap Weapon for Colonial Revolts

The other quarter in which these articles raise inescapable issues is the Third World. The Langer articles show the extent to which CB Warfare is aimed at what an earlier generation, in the language of Western imperialism's poet-laureate Kipling, called "the lesser breeds without the law." Today chemical and bacteriological warfare is being tailored for use, in the more cryptic phraseology now fashionable, in counter-insurgency and limited war. Miss Langer's survey shows that CB warfare, long starved for funds, began to expand under the Kennedy Administration. It was (she writes)—

concerned about the military inflexibility imposed by over-reliance on nuclear weapons. New Frontiersmen were interested in acquiring a more versatile weapons 'mix'. And they were especially interested in systems that, like CBW, seemed to offer particular promise in fighting limited wars. In the nuclear stalemate between the great powers, there began to be a reorientation in the conceptions of how the U.S. would conduct its war against smaller nations, and

They Only Destroy People

A useful quality of biological weapons, according to the unclassified military field manual FM-310, is their ability to "accomplish their effects . . . with little or no physical destruction. This constitutes an advantage both in combat operations [presumably the clutter on the battlefields is thus limited to corpses—IFS] . . . and—from a longer range viewpoint—in postwar rehabilitation, where overall building requirements would be reduced." The utility of chemical weapons is described in similar language.

—Elinor Langer on CB Warfare in Science *Jan. 20.*

CBW was just one beneficiary of the reorientation. . . The relative cheapness of CBW systems played a role as well.

The Green Beret and bacteria went hand in hand. Between fiscal '61 and fiscal '64, the appropriations for research and development in CB warfare almost tripled. So, in that period, did the appropriations for procurement. Since 1964 the latter have been classified. All this is intended to subdue smaller nations and revolts of which we disapprove. It is therefore of terrible significance to Asia, Latin America and Africa. One sample of what we have in store for the underdeveloped and the underfed, if they act contrary to our wishes, was the award of the Army's Distinguished Service Medal, the highest given civilians, to a Fort Detrick researcher "for her contribution to development of rice blast fungus, a disease that in its natural form has repeatedly damaged Asian rice crops." A small new firm in Washington, Research Analysis Corporation, eager for government contracts, advertises its capabilities in the field of "agricultural warfare" and gives as an example, "Evaluation of counter-insurgency requirements in Southeast Asia." We think such activities should be brought forcibly to public attention in the United Nations by the smaller neutral nations before research becomes reality. Should any nation have the right to prepare means to destroy the food and health of other nations? Our CB laboratories are preparing to enforce a Pax Americana with a *Pox* Americana, our politics by our man-made plagues.

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Addressed Envelope

I. F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20015

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zip..... State.....

1/30/67

For the enclosed $5 send a gift sub to:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zip..... State.....

For $5.35 extra send I. F. Stone's ***The Haunted Fifties***

Indicate if announcement wished ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly

5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; 20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED